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PANTHERS DEMAND JUSTICE



Adaptation by EMORY

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MORE STORIES ON ASSASSINATION



HUEY AND HISTORY

BY
Frank B. Jones
Deputy Minister of Information

Although white supremist historians have attempted to establish that black people in the South were happy and contented slaves, we have historical evidence that such was not the case. As a matter of fact, there were more than 200 slave rebellions and conspiracies in the United States prior to the Civil War. The first revolt resulted in black men becoming the first permanent settlers - other than the Indians - in the United States. This slave revolt occurred in a Spanish colony in 1526. The Spaniards left the rebellious colony, returned to Haiti, and left the black men who had revolted in the United States.

Even today these revisionist historians are attempting to malign the intentions and motivations of the leaders of the black revolts. These historians and writers of historical novels are stating or implying that black men revolted because they were mentally deranged, religious fanatics, revolutionary opportunists, etc. These historians refuse to admit that many black men fought in opposition to slavery in face of almost insurmountable odds because they loved their people and sought justice and equality.

Black men possess a quality that is evidently alien to the white supremist historians. A quality that is rare in establishment oriented societies - an untiring tenacity to resist injustices. Black men cannot resolve themselves to an inferior status. True black men will fight injustice as long as it exists and will employ and and all means necessary to destroy it. It was this characteristic that prompted many black men to fight the injustices of slavery.

Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and company all fought to end the monstrous system of de jure slavery that existed in the United States. After slavery was declared illegal, black men continued to resist the injustices of de facto slavery. Men like Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King opposed the degrading system of de facto They realized that there are two Americas - one of principle and one of practice. They were also aware that the America of principle is only a facade for the America of practice. In practice America is a materially oriented, class conscious, racist, hypocritical country; but these qualities are hidden behind the written and spoken principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Pledge of Allegiance, the Constitution, and the Lord's Prayer. America does not practice what it preaches.

Today we have another black man who has dedicated himself to the fight against injustice. A man who wants to apply the principles of America and not just preach them. A man wants the principles of America applied to all people instead of just a select few. A man who has chosen a section of the Declaration of Independence as the philosophical basis for his activities. A man who wants to make the gun subject to the people instead of making the people subject to the gun. A man who practices what he preaches. Today we have Huey P. Newton.

Huey P. Newton has chosen to join the ranks of the black freedom fighters and to continue their pressed black masses. Huey possesses characteristics that are similar to both de jure and de facto slavery freedom fighters. Of the de facto slavery freedom fighters he is more nearly aligned to Malcolm X - both decided that force is an effective means of resisting violent people and/or policemen. Huey resembles Denmark Vesey of the de jure slavery era because like Denmark, Huey realized the need for organization. Most of us are aware of the biographical facts concerning Malcolm X, so now let us review the parallels that exist between Denmark Vesey and Huey P. Newton.

Huey attended Merritt College and completed one year of law school. He could have remained in law school and upon graduation entered the world of self-deception of the black bourgeoisie. Huey could not accept that role. He could not seek personal gain while his black brothers remained oppressed. He valued freedom for his people more than he valued any personal aggrandizement. Huey realized that the laws he was studying were not applied to black people with the same equality that they are applied to whites. The laws are used to regulate white people and to restrict black people. There is no equality under the law in America. Huey organized the Black Panther Party.

Denmark Vesey purchased his freedom after winning a lottery. He accumulated money and property and gained the respect of both blacks and whites. He personally stated that he was willing to risk his personal comfort in an effort to free his black brothers. When an opportunity arose for Denmark to go to Africa, he refused it saying he wanted to stay in America and see what he could do for his fellow creatures. Denmark Vesey started an organization whose purpose was to liberate the slaves of Charleston, S.C.

Huey Newton realized that an organization can be no stronger than its members, so he chose men who were dedicated to the black liberation movement. The chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, exemplifies the type of men that Huey wants for the Black Panther Party. Bobby has held many decent paying jobs, but he could not be bought off in his attempt to help his black brothers. Bobby joined with Huey and has remained faithful to the cause in spite of Huey's imprisonment and constant threats against Bobby's life. The threats of death have only served to strengthen Bobby's resolve.

Denmark Vesey chose Peter Poyas as his chief assistant. Peter Poyas has been described as a man with ice water in his veins - one of the coolest operators ever. When a weakling Uncle Tom exposed Vesey's plot to capture Charleston, Peter was picked up and questioned, but remained so cool that he was released. Later when more weaklings implicated him, Peter who was condemned to death told a companion who had started to yield to pain to "Die like a man!" A word from Peter was enough; his companion ceased to complain. At his execution Peter told his fellow revolutionists when they were asked for additional information, "Do not open your lips. Die silent as you shall see me do." A cool operator indeed.

Huey realized that only activity can revolutionize a system. Talk is not enough. Huey, Bobby, and Lil' Bobby Hutton started their shotgun patrols to discourage police brutality in the ghetto. This effort was very successful in accomplishing its goal, but it turned the pent up sadism of the police department onto the Panthers. The police continued to harass Huey and the Panthers until the shooting incident that resulted in Huey's being imprisoned. Even the incarceration of Huey did not satisfy the police as is witnessed by the continued harassment of the Panthers.

Denmark Vesey organized his black brothers in and around the city of Charleston and was preparing to take control of the city, but an Uncle Tom house servant heard about Denmark's plan and sprad the word to the white slaveowners. Even with the knowledge of Denmark's organization, the slaveowners had a difficult time trying to determine who the leaders were. Denmark's associates were so strong that most of the information upon capture. A few who were too weak to endure the intensive interrogation finally implicated Denmark Vesey. Denmark along with 31 of his associates were tried and executed, but his organization was so strong and secretive that the slaveowners admitted that they were not sure that all members had been captured. The slaveowners also admitted that Denmark would have succeeded in taking the city if the Uncle Tom servant had not informed on him.

Gabriel Prosser fought slavery and was executed. Denmark Vesey fought slavery and was executed. Nat Turner fought slavery and was executed. In each case black people did nothing to aid the men who had fought for freedom. Marcus Garvey fought oppression and was jailed. Malcolm X fought oppression and was assassinated. Martin Luther King fought oppression and was assassinated. Black people did nothing. Huey P. Newton fought oppression and has been jailed. But Huey P. Newton can still succeed in his efforts to liberate black people if black people will give support to his efforts.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. Exposes Karenga



Black Enigma

A West Coast Militant Talks Tough

Ron Karenga of Los Angeles Seen Using Fear of Violence To Build Political Power

A Meeting With Gov. Reagan

By Byron E. Calame
Reporter for The Wall Street Jou.

LOS ANGELES--Four years ago, mild-mannered Ronald Everett, the fourteenth child in a family of a poor Baptist minister, seemed well on his way to a comfortable place in the growing Negro middle class.

He had just earned a master's degree in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles, and earlier he had been the first Negro to be elected student body president at a junior college here.

But then Mr. Everett dropped his "slave name" and became one of the most militant black nationalists in America. Today, he's Ron Karenga (a Swahili word meaning "keeper of the tradition"), the leader of a tough-minded organization called US (as opposed to "them") that he founded in 1965. From a black desk in a black-appointed office in a one-story black building here, he talks of "violent revolution" and urges Negroes to create their own distinctive black nation with its own distinctive Afro-American culture.

Charismatic and articulate, Mr. Karenga, 26, typifies the kind of Negro militant who is claiming increasing power, and national attention. One civil rights observer calls him "one of the leading theoreticians in the national black power movement." Recently he has appeared on the same program with McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation at a conference of educators at Yale and addressed the national convention of the Congress of Racial Equality. But his role as leader, as well as his personal history, is a study in contrasts.

Sunday evenings will find him lecturing segregated "soul sessions" on a broad range of subjects, including his concept of preemptive self-defense. (Briefly, the concept holds that if you think your're about to be hit -- hit first.) "When the word is given, we'll see how tough you are," he writes in the Quotable Karenga, a small handbook issued to followers. "When it's 'burn,' let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill,' let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up,' let's see how much you blow up."

Chilling as these statements may sound in the wake of the recent burning, looting and killing in the Negro district of Cleveland, Mr. Karenga has a less militant side, one seldom seen by other whites or his Negro followers. He's a shrewd politician who works behind the scenes as a lobbyist for black nationalism -- by which he says does not mean black separation -- among both white officials and moderate Negro leaders. A few weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King, for example, Mr. Karenga slipped into Sacramento for a private chat with Gov. Ronald Reagan, at the governor's request. The black nationalist also met clandestinely with Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin after Mr. King was killed.

Civil rights observers agree that Mr. Karenga is typical of many militants who talk of looting and burning but actually are eager to gather influence for quiet bargaining with the predominantly white power structure. "Ron has a strong personal interest in exploiting the fear of violence without actually using it," observes a Negro lawyer here.

TWO REVOLUTIONS

Mr. Karenga's shaven head, Genghis Khan-style mustache and dark glasses (to say nothing of the bodyguard at the door) make him appear rather fearsome at first. But this impression fades quickly in face-to-face conversation.

SPEAKING FOR THE OUTSIDERS

"He typifies the black militant leadership today," says C. Eric Lincoln, Negro author of several books on black power. "Their strength is in their ability to articulate the feelings of large numbers of people who don't belong to any group."

Mr. Karenga's prestige also rose after his open participation in an "operational unity steering committee," formed by the Black Congress only hours after Mr. King's death. The committee's main purpose was to prevent Negro rioting here. It reached beyond the membership of the Black Congress to include the relatively staid Urban League, the local representative of Mr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a leading moderate Negro clergyman.

A source who sat in on several committee meetings says Mr. Karenga's role was "crucial" (the phrase "operational unity" was his, for example). For the first time, the militant US leader was able to meet on an even footing with several moderate Negro leaders -- including one who had dismissed him only a few days before as "more of a nuisance than anything else." At the same time, Mr. Karenga was holding his secret meetings with Police Chief Reddin, as well as with other city officials.

CONTROLLING THE TROOPS

Significantly, while rioting erupted in many other cities after the assassination, Los Angeles remained calm. Chief Reddin has praised the special Black congress committee, and other observers give Mr. Karenga in particular much credit. "Karenga played a very key role because he controls the military troops, so to speak," says one.

WIELDING POWER

Today, when Mr. Karenga isn't making speeches around the country, he can usually be found at the US cultural center in south-central Los Angeles. There, US members answer the phone with "habari gani" (What's news?") and often use other Swahili phrases in conversation. Some wear "bubas," tunic-like garments that Mr. Karenga designed himself. Others wear red or green sweatshirts with Mr. Karenga's face emblazoned on the front. During a recent talk with a white interviewer, Mr. Karenga took telephone calls from around the country and dealt with a wide range of problems.

One call came from a member of the board of directors of the local antipoverty program. At the time US members were helping to picket one of the program's training centers and there had been a flare-up on the picket line that morning. "We'd like to try to solve this at the political level first," Mr. Karenga told the caller. "There's some corruption over there, and the people are very angry about it." A few days later the antipoverty board voted to suspend the training project's director and chief fiscal officer, pending an audit and review of the program.

Another caller was greeted in Swahili and informed that the young leader of a recently formed militant Mexican-American group was in jail. "Find out where he is and exactly what it takes to get him out," the caller was directed. "We are going to try to help raise some money for bail." The jailed leader was soon free on bail.

A long-distance call requesting advice came from a leader of a militant organization of young Negroes in Chicago. "You gotta watch those politicians, man," Mr. Karenga warned the Chicagoan.

A 21-HOUR DAY

Such calls and conferences keep Mr. Karenga busy. One recent Monday he put in a 21-hour day that began at 5 a.m. with solitary study of Swahili, Zulu and Spanish in his two-bedroom home. It continued through five meetings and conferences, a filmed television interview and a 9 p.m. flight to a sixth meeting with San Diego black nationalists. That meeting ended at 2 a.m. and Mr. Karenga spent the night in San Diego. He calls the day "typical."

Mr. Karenga's wife, Brenda, gave birth to their third child and second son in April. All three children have African first names. Mrs. Karenga, who wears her hair in the "natural" African style, has written a Swahili primer for use in teaching children. The home is decorated in an African motif, and a favorite family meal is "nyama," an African dish made of chopped beef and vegetables.

The US leader is reluctant to discuss his personal finances or those of his organization, but there's no outward evidence to suggest that he's getting rich. He says he turns over all his speaking honorariums (which range up to $1,000 a speech) to US; Some critics doubt this, however. The organization also meets its bills through "commitments" from its members and donations from some whites and moderate Negroes, he says.

There are occasional breaks in Mr. Karenga's grueling pace. Sitting in his office, answering telephone calls and questions from an interviewer, the black militant is interrupted by an eager Negro boy of about five who rushes to his desk and greets him with the Swahili word, "maulana" -- a highly honorific title. Smiling, Mr. Karenga asks the boy, the son of an US member, what he is doing.

"Just trying to be black, maulana," the youngster replies, then dashes away.

LOS ANGELES PANTHERS AWAIT JUSTICE FOR "US" ORGANIZATION PIGS

The establishment assault on the Black Panther Party continued after the re ent slaying of two high potential UCLA students, both Panthers, John Huggins, 23, and Bunchy Carter, 26, shot down in the Campbell Hall lunchroom (old health sciences building) at about 2:40 p.m. Friday, January 17, 1969. A meeting of the Black Students Union had just concluded and people were getting ready to leave.

Last June's political assassination in the Ambassador Hotel happened the same way, with leaders leaving after the victory. An assailant fired a pistol at close range from behind. John Huggins fell dead, hit in the back by the 357 magnum bullet. Carter was fatally shot in the chest. Carter fell and everybody scattered. One student dived out a window. A passerby thought it was the "gorilla theater." Someone else saw four men running west from Carter Hall past the Humanities building toward parking lot 5.

When police arrived 15 minutes later no eyewitnesses to the affray remained in the building. They closed Campbell Hall and interogated the dozen or so people inside.

TV cameramen arrived and announced that "very little more than that is known at this point." An ambulance arrived about 6 p.m. to remove the bodies. While waiting for them to bring the bodies one news cameraman joked, "Are we going out to dinner after this. I'm working on an appetite. If they come out extra bloody I'll be extra hungry."

After the bodies were loaded in the van, police investigators held a press conference in Humanities 1200. The Free Press was excluded from the conference, but informants say the police were very careful about what they told newsmen. The FBI was present and police merely explained that none of the people who were questioned in the building were put under arrest.

UCLA observers describe "an oppressive aura of tension" among black students in recent weeks." All agree that there was a power struggle going on over selection of a director to control the new Afro-American Center.

UCLA was a source of power for Maulana Ron Karenga even before he graduated from there 5 or 6 years ago. He became an ardent black nationalist, shaved his head, but took care not to drop out of school. Karenga organized US, a black nationalist group. US became prominent in early summer 1966, when they were on the cover of Life magazine.

Karenga is not a street brother, although he has learned some street tongue just as he has learned Swahili. Ron Karenga is an intellectual who has advanced and promoted black culture in the ghetto through his personal acquaintance with Black Studies, the program he followed at UCLA. Black Studies was not a discipline during the years Ron studied there, but he managed to assemble a respectable substitute out of Political Science, Sociology, History, Swahili and subjects in the African studies Department.

The Friday BSU meeting can only be understood in the context of the victorious offensive waged by the Black Panthers and the BSU at San Francisco State. Third World groups, and even labor unions have joined in the strike, and it is certain that Black Studies will come to the University this year. The only questions are those all important ones of shape and content. They will be answered by the Black Studies Director when he is chosen. Whoever directs the program at UCLA will exert powerful influence over Black Studies programs all over California and earn more than $20,000 a year.

The Wednesday before his death John Huggins addressed a rally at Meyerhoff Park (UCLA's free speech area). He explained the purpose of the black studies program:

"What we need is a black studies program which teaches us what we need to know about racist America. When we say a black studies program we're dealing with real things --with the survival of a race of people who have been brought to this country, brutalized and miseducated. We need this information to take it into the communities.

"We are not against white teachers as long as we can control what is taught. We need an educational system that we can relate to. We're calling for Black students, Mexican American students and white students to unite, because you don't have any power either and are being used by the people who oppress you.

"We expect you white students to say 'Hell, No' to the board of trustees if you are to regain your humanity, as the Black students have had to do. We have two major enemies in this country, capitalism and racism."

A meeting was scheduled for that afternoon with Chancellor Young, the BSU and the Community Advisory Committee to discuss selection of the Black Studies Director. BSU asked Young to cancel the meeting, but the Chancellor met with Ron Karenga in the Regents' room. They parted in optimistic agreement.

Thursday, at another meeting of the BSU, we are told that the Panther faction won. They elected a new coordinating committee, sweeping US and the Advisory Council aside.

The BSU opposed the US candidate for the Black Studies director with objections that his qualifications were not up to UCLA standards. Adopting an autonomous stand against the "community leaders," the students insisted that the head of the new department must have a PhD. (Ron Karenga has an M.A.) Chancellor Young had to yield.

A faculty member close to the Black Studies program said: "The US element did not seem interested in it as an academic program. They may have been more concerned with its impact on the community."

Friday at noon, UCLA's rightwingers held a rally to counteract the dangerous ideas expressed by Huggins Wednesday. The first speaker was an anti-communist alien who told how the communist took over everything "back in the old country," and promised the same thing over here.

Larry Labovitz of Valley State called for a few punches in the "right place" from college athletes and said: "they talk of putting us up against the wall. We'll put THEM up against the wall." CIA Stephens, rally organizer, was roundly heckled by some SDS types and the guitar player was terrible.

A few hundred yards away, in Campbell Hall, the BSU meeting was starting. The subject of discussion was the Black Studies program. About 150 students attended the meeting which ended the way Malcolm X's last meeting ended. The tragic event had some very rancid political implications.

Within four hours of the killings officers of the LAPD made use of the opportunity to strike a second shattering blow at the victims. A large number of cops descended on the Watts residence of John Huggins, arresting his young wife Erika, and 16 other persons. The police claimed that they had probable cause to expect a Panther "retaliation" for the assassinations. There was no clear and present danger, however, since Ron Karenga was 100 miles away in San Diego. The Panthers blame Karenga for the killings.

It started raining a short time after the police raided the Huggins residence on Friday evening. Panthers say officers of the LAPD tore the blanket off the Huggins' two-week-old baby and would not let Erika wrap the child in it. She used her coat and, when they reached the 77th street station, the booking officer insisted on searching the infant. Patting the child down, he said:

"If we find any marijuana in this coat we'll book the kid for possession." The baby was in jail for seven hours.

Twelve of the other arrested victims were booked on suspicion of conspiracy to commit assault with a deadly weapon and possession of firearms. The LAPD is making imaginative use of the conspiracy law. Their way of attacking victims merits closer examination.

Nine of those arrested are still in jail, unable to raise $6,500 apiece for bail. Erika Huggins got out Saturday afternoon. She and the baby have gone back to New Haven with John Huggins' body. The funeral will be held there.

Saturday, David Hilliard arrived from Oakland. Hilliard had come here to L.A. to plan a fund-raising for the Newton-Cleaver Defense Fund. He wisked into a press conference.

"The Black Panther Party is the target of the racist police," Hilliard said and spoke angrily about Huggins' widow and the others being arrested: "They were not the murderers, but the murderers are still loose.

"We have always taken precautions. But you can't stop assassinations. The 17 people who were arrested were armed to protect themselves against aggressors. We do not relate to the police as our protectors. We don't expect them to defend us but if we know who did it we would cooperate with the police to see what they would do."

Hilliard pointed out that there are "enemies within the assemblies of black people themselves ... This is the pattern that all revolutions follow. You don't live forever. At this point we need the Minister of Defense more than ever."

The Panthers are in contact with BSU members and other UCLA students who were in the Campbell Hall lunchroom at the time of the shooting. Police learned that two brothers, US members named Stiner, took part in the shooting. The Panthers issued a statement calling it "a political assassination by US organization. Big white pigs killed Bobby Hutton, little black porkchops killed Bunchy and John. Porkchop nationalism is part and parcel of the pig power structure."

The community's reaction to the killing and vicious charges aimed at US was first anguish and then surprise. One informed observer could not believe it. "I'm sure it's not US. I don't see how Karenga could get involved in something like that. He is filling his pockets along with Walter Bremond."

Examination revealed that federal grants have gone to US, that Bremond is operating a string of gas stations in the ghetto for Standard Oil and the Bank of America, and that both Bremond and Karenga are to be major beneficiaries of the United Brotherhood Crusade $3 million dollar fund raising now in progress. Both are members of the Community Advisory Council to help plan UCLA's new Afro-American Studies Center.

Margaret Wright has been a leading figure in the struggle for community control of the schools. We called Mrs. Wright to find out the extent of community involvement in planning the Black Studies program at UCLA. She said there was none.

"We heard from the students that there was some kind of a hassel. They said that the Community Advisory Board was trying to go over the heads of the students and had gone to the Chancellor.

"I don't know anything about the black studies program at UCLA. I only went up there once, when the students asked me to speak at a BSU meeting.

"I only get involved in a school when the students ask me to help. There wasn't very much friction at UCLA. The BSU is the oldest in the area and always has been the best organized."

Mrs. Wright is the head of the Black Community School Board and once took part in the Black Congress. She now works with an opposing group, the Black Alternative.

Panther spokesmen told the FREE PRESS: "Karenga runs the Black Congress through force, intimidation and ignorance. They have held elections where Karenga had his men surround the building and then he would be inside and tell them how to vote.

In meetings they have a 70 man fillibuster. A bunch of Karenga's goons kept disrupting the BSU meetings so nothing could get done. Last week they kept them arguing for 3 days before they lost out."

"What about the United Brotherhood Crusade?" we asked. "If it emanates from the Black Congress, US runs it." Shermont Banks said of the killings: "Karenga is responsible because Karenga has stated that he is responsible for any actions of US members."

George P. Stiner, 22, gave himself up Monday on the advice of his lawyer. Larry J. Stiner, 21, gave himself up at the San Diego airport the same evening. Both were booked for murder and Larry was taken to USC medical center for treatment of a fresh gunshot wound in the shoulder. Both Stiner brothers are UCLA students and US members. They are out on $31,250 bail for allegedly shooting an Orange County man last year and will go to trial on February 10. They have not yet been arraigned on the latest charges.

Ron Karenga was not available for comment and reliable informants say he is in San Diego. Things may look very different after Karenga has had his way.

In the meantime 9 Panthers (3 sisters and 6 brothers) are still in jail on conspiracy charges. The Panthers are asking for help in bailing them out. Bail contributions may be sent to: Black Panther Party, P. O. Box 3065, Compton, California, 90223.

Eulogy

Bunchy Carter and John Huggins two names that take their place along with Malcom X and other freedom fighters in the Black Liberation struggle. We as members of the Vanguard loved and respected you as did all Black people for whom you gave your lives, so that they could obtain their freedom. You died because your ideology was a direct contradiction to the racist establishment. You died because you had an undying love for Black people.

But your death has not been for naught. Your death has merely perpetrated a higher motivation for your brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party to intensify the struggle for that cool clear drink of water-freedom for Black people.

The end is in sight for the pig power structure and the pork chop operation that stole away your beautiful lives.

Power to you brothers and in the words of Che Guevara "wherever death may surprise us let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms."

Bobby Herron



EDITORIAL . . .

BY FRANK JONES
Deputy Minister Of Information

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The Black Panther Party appreciates the contributions of all revolutionary people and will attempt to publish all relevant material that is submitted to the Black Panther newspaper. THE BLACK PANTHER is an instrument of political education and is published with the intent of countering the misinformation that often appears in the mass communication media.

THE BLACK PANTHER is not to be considered an outlet for emotional outburst of irrevelant profanity. This is not to imply that all profanity will be eliminated from THE BLACK PANTHER, but to inform contributors that all material must correspond with the primary purpose of the paper — to educate the oppressed.

"Divide and conquer" is an axiom that oppressive power structures have utilized to maintain their dominance over the working class of people. We are now faced with a dilemma that could be of great consequence to the majority of Black peoples. Two members of the Black Panther Party have been assassinated by members of another Black organization, and now the Black community is waiting to see what will be done by both of the organizations involved in this situation.

If the Black Panther Party seeks immediate revenge for the loss of two revolutionary brothers, and the U.S. organization offers significant resistance, then we will have division among the Black segment of the population, and the repressive establishment will attempt to capitalize on this division. On the other hand if the Black Panther Party does nothing about the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, we may give the impression that the Party will tolerate such despicable acts with no attempt to avenge the injustice.

Malcolm X has said that when Black people have differences of opinion, these differences should be resolved in a closet so as to give no public display of disunity among Blacks. In the case of the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John the public is apparently aware that there is some disunity. Now we must take positive steps to avoid allowing this manifested disunity from becoming destructive to the Black Liberation Movement. In addition this must be done without giving a mistaken impression that the Black Panther Party will tolerate such injustices.

My first reaction was incorrectly one of revenge. I felt that if we took immediate steps to gain revenge we would demonstrate to the people that the Black Panther Party is indeed a powerful institution. My first inclination was to kill three or four members of U. S. in retaliation for Brothers Bunchy and John. I was surprised when our Chairman, Bobby Seale, and our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, failed to issue the order. Both Bobby and David immediately assessed the assassination as an attempt to invoke a reactionary response from the Party. They realized that the establishment would utilize any vindictive action by the Party as an excuse to inflict oppressive measures against the Party.

Their analysis of the situation proved to be correct. The arrest of 17 Panthers in Los Angeles immediately after the assassination, and the large collection of pigs around the National Office validated their assessment. When I left the National Office on the night of the assassination I spotted a carload of pigs within one half block of our National Office. This prompted me to drive around the area to survey the situation, and what I found was indeed revealing. Within a six block area from our National Office I spotted five or six pig vehicles. I guess that they were waiting for an incident so that they could claim that they were the victims of an "unprovoked attack." When Charles Bursey, Berkeley Captain, and I went back to the National Office later that night the pigs were gone. Our leaders had outfoxed (out-Panthered) them.

I can now see more clearly why Bobby and David reacted as they did. Improper action by the Party may have caused a premature confrontation between the Party and the establishment. But even more important is the fact that by not taking immediate reactionary steps our leaders prevented the chasm of disunity from widening. If we had implemented retaliatory action against U. S., many of the innocent and improperly led members of that organization would have suffered from the wrath of the Panther.

Our leaders instead have decided to make the establishment work against itself. If the assassination was indeed inspired by the establishment in an effort to create an inflammatory situation this has failed, and now the establishment must prosecute its own agents, or admit the perverted type of racist activity in which it is engaged. The plot to create division has failed because the Panther leadership is aware of the type of treachery that the establishment will employ to protect its wealth and status.

The Black Panther Party will not allow any exterior force or interior corruption to create disunity among Black people. If the leaders of U. S. or any other organization are going to allow members of their organization to be used by the establishment then the Black Panther Party will expose those leaders as pawns in the hand of the oppressive establishment. The Party realizes that the rank and file of most Black organizations have a sincere interest in the Black Liberation Movement, and that only the leadership of establishment oriented organizations is corrupt. With this in mind it is the duty of the Party to make the masses aware of those leaders whose only goals are ones of self gratification.

Improper leadership is often reflected in the improper action of members of that leader's organization. The rank and file adopt the attitudes of its leaders and act on the premises that are advanced by the leaders. Whenever the rank and file act in an uncomplimentary manner, the leaders of a righteous organization will immediately criticize those actions. A case in point is the Black Panther renouncement of the acts of opportunistic banditry by some of its former members. When a leader does otherwise it can be assumed that that leader does not have the best interest of the Black community at heart.

After the assassination of Brothers Bunchy and John, the leadership of U. S., notably Ron (Karenga) Everett, made no statements whatsoever, and then later it has been reported that Karenga made statements criticizing the Black Panther Party. These statements were all of a nebulous nature and were based entirely on subjectivism which is an intrinsically illogical form of comment.

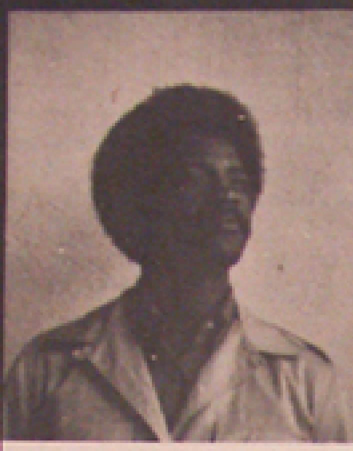
Because Karenga has made no statements of censure it seems safe to assume that he is in agreement with the action of his followers -- possibly he gave the order to have Bunchy and John assassinated. If so, Karenga, too, must pay for this atrocity.

The Black Panther Party has given its initial indication that the murder of Panthers will not go unpunished. The Party was instrumental in the arrest of the two alleged assassins. The Los Angeles pig department tried to pretend that there was no evidence on which to indict anyone, but our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, showed them so much evidence that they could not find a suitable excuse for ignoring it. The pigs are always hesitant to arrest and prosecute their own agents. Now they are going to be forced to prosecute and convict some of their own.

The Black Panther Party has effectively prevented the establishment from dividing the Black Liberation Force, and at the same time, the Party has forced the establishment to start the prosecution of its own agents. The Black Panther Party will react to pigs and the pigs agents in the same manner. Anyone who allows the establishment to use them as an agent to disrupt the liberation movement is in fact a pig and will be brought to justice.

Let the action of the Black Panther Party serve notice to all. When man deals with man, justice is a goal. But when pigs deal with Panthers, justice is inevitable.

COWARDLY SNAKES KILL PANTHERS



ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER
DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



JOHN JEROME HUGGINS
DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Using the method of a snake that strikes without warning, members of the jive, boot licking, group called "US" creeped up behind two members of the Black Panther Party and shot them in the back. This is the tactic used by the pigs when dealing with Panthers. These cheeseheaded pretenders are a detachment of the Los Angeles Pig Department. Their leader, that bigmouth, fat lipping, punk called Karenga, is paid by the power structure to infiltrate all Black Power Conferences or any get together where black people are making an honest effort to deal with the racist power structure. Ron Karenga is part and partial of the pigs. He is an informer for the slavemasters. He is paid by the slavemasters to sell out black people and cause disunity among the masses. Now he has killed to satisfy his master. This time he messed up. He killed a Panther. He killed members of the Vanguard. From this point on his and his groups asses belong to people, and if the people don't get him the Panthers will. The Panthers don't want to see any of these book lickers on the streets of any city in the United States. If they are seen, they are to be given the same type of justice they gave John Huggins and Brother Bunchy. They had better catch a ride on the next ship going to the moon because earth is to small to hide them.

Our souls will not rest until these "pork chops" are dead.

Dynamite



ON CULTURAL NATIONALISM

By Linda Harrison

Cultural nationalism is recognized by many who think in an revolutionary manner as a distinct and natural stage through which one proceeds in order to become a revolutionary. Such is not always the case, and many people remain at the level of a cultural nationalist all of their lives. In the United States, cultural nationalism can be summed up in James Brown's words - "I'm Black and I'm Proud."

Cultural nationalism manifests itself in many ways but all of these manifestations are essentially grounded in one fact; a universal denial and ignoring of the present political, social, and economic realities and a concentration on the past as a frame of reference.

This phenomenon is not unique to this stage of the revolution in which we find ourselves; neither is it unique to the United States Black "citizens" struggle for freedom. Frantz Fanon - in THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH said of this phenomenon that "There is no taking of the offensive - and no redefining of relationships. There is simply a concentration on a hard core of culture which is becoming more and more shrivelled up-inert and empty.

Those who believe in the "I'm Black and Proud" theory-believe that there is dignity inherent in wearing naturals; that a buba makes a slave a man; and that a common language; Swahili; makes all of us brothers. These people usually want a culture rooted in African culture; a culture which ignores the colonization and brutalization that were part and parcel; for example; of the formation and emergence of the Swahili language. In other words cultural nationalism ignores the political and concrete, and concentrates on there to go after a woman has got a natural -- to the natural shop of course!!-and pay $5.50 for a hair-do, $2.00 for oil spray; $2.00 for comb out conditioner, $3.50 for a line and comb-out, and then to the dress shop for a traditional wrap priced at $25.00 to $50.00. On the way to and from this shopping and spending they are still observing the oppression and exploitation of their people-in different clothes.

Because cultural nationalism offers no challenge or offense against the prevailing order; the influx of "Black and Proud" actors, movie stars, social workers, teachers - probation officers and politicians is tremendous. Bourgeoisie and upper class standing is no handicap to the "Black" and vice versa. The power structure, after the mandatory struggle, condones and even worships this new found pride which it uses to sell every product under the sun. It worships and condones anything that is harmless and presents no challenge to the existing order. Even its top representatives welcome it and turn it into "Black Capitalism" and related phenomenon. Everyone is black and the bourgeoisie continue to hate their less fortunate black brothers and sisters; and the oppressed continue to want. The "Black" social worker continues to work for the degrading welfare system, and the "Black" probation and parole officers continue to violate their probationers and parolees.

We have no nation without a fight against those who oppress us. We have no culture but a culture born out of our resistance to oppression. "No colonial system draws its justification from the fact that the territories (and people) it dominates are culturally nonexistent. You will never make a myth and fantasy.

A man who lives under slavery and any of its extensions rarely regains his dignity by rejecting the clothiers of his enslaver; he rarely regains his dignity except by a confrontation on equal grounds with his enslaver. All men can die, and this is the only thing that equalizes them. Under many systems those with money die less often. Any confrontation which gives men, no matter what their social or economic position, an equal chance to die under equal conditions is uplifting for those who consider themselves at the bottom and degrading and toppling for those who are at the top. To see himself on an equal plane with his enslaver is to realize that the ones who enslave and oppress do not have the devine right to do so. There is nothing to be proud of in colonization and slavery and only out of the initiative of the oppressed can come something meaningful and amending to his existence.

Quoting Fanon "The desire to attach oneself to tradition or bring abandoned traditions to life again does not only mean going against the current of history but also opposing ones own people-" Cultural Nationalists in their finery support many of the evils which have put them in the position of servitude. In the absence of constructive and corrective platforms and actions, the support and profit from "Being Black" they become profit seekers sellings earrings at 400% mark up and buba's from dime store yardage at Saks 5th Avenue prices. Sort of a hustler trying to become respectable. Exploiting those with weaker minds and weaker pocketbooks.

And because cultural nationalism has no political doctrine as a rule-the limits of being black and proud are proximate. Where is colonialism blush for shame by spreading out little known cultural treasures under it's eyes." the peoples of Africa had cultures. It is only racism and economic necessities and whims that enslaved these countries and people. Apes have cultures - they are put into zoos. Economics transcends cultures in the capitalistic context. That is to say that capitalism will always use as its basis for expansion a real or imagined economic necessity. It will of course justify with racist conclusions and explanations of the progress that they bring to the "Natives" and "Savages," and no culture in the world, except a revolutionary culture will stop or halt or destroy that advance. Colonialism, slavery, neocolonialism, and other extensions of capitalism thrive over a thousand and one cultures.

"It is around the peoples struggles that African-Negro culture takes on substance - and not around songs, poems or folklore." A culture that does not challenge wholly and resolutely the dominant and exploitative forces-political, economical, and social forces - is a culture which is either pre-slavery, pre-colonialistic or completely made up and in either case completely useless. And cultural nationalism is most always based on racism. We hear "Hate Whitey" and "Kill the Honkey". These statements ignore the analysis - intellectual analysis such as those made by Eldridge Cleaver on the relationships between the government and the pigs-and marines ect; and they ignore the possibility of allies. In all cases cultural nationalism - in the midst of struggle, seeks to create a racist ideology. To be a racist in America is certainly justified, but it is a handicapped position to take as a revolutionary.

"Adherence to African-Negro culture and to cultural unity of Africa is arrived at in the first place by upholding unconditionally the people's struggle for freedom. No one can truly wish for the spread of African culture if he does not give practical support to the creation of the conditions necessary to existance of that culture. . ."

How can a cultural nationalist claim to love and to be proud of a country-and a continent that has suffered for hundreds of years in colonialism and slavery, and is still suffering in all the cleverly disguised and open forms of these institutions. How can he himself deny the political realities of his own life in America by dressing up in a maternity smock (brightly colored) to participate in the culture of a people torn by revolution and revolt. How can a cultural nationalist claim adherance to the cultures of Africa, when the culture of Africa is a revolutionary culture. Solidarity with the revolutionary people all over the world has brought about a common culture to people who know nothing of each other except that they suffer under similar systems of exploitation; degradation, and racism. That their people have undergone much the same changes and that in no case will the people regain their dignity and find their freedom except through a face to face and equal confrontation through revolutionary tactics and actions "A revolutionary culture is the only valid culture for the oppressed!!"

All quotations except the last one from "THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH by Fanon.

by Linda Harrison
East Oakland Office

LETTER

January 22, 1969

Brothers and Sisters:

I went to school at UCLA with John Huggins and some other members of the Party. John impressed me greatly as a serious and beautiful Black man of much dedication, and I admired his efforts to help Black people.

I must be truthful in saying that even at the present time, affected as I am by his death, I have not yet reached the point of dedication that I believe necessary to be a true Black Panther. I am reading, however, and trying more now than ever before to throw off the shackles of middle-class "pork-chop" nationalism and accept the true REVOLUTIONARY goals.

Please, let it be said the John Huggins died "giving birth" to revolutionary thoughts in AT LEAST ONE Black mind.

Arlene C. Jones

FEMALE PANTHER TORTURED

Joan Bird was taken into custody at 9:00 P.M. on January 17, 1969 after several shots had been fired at two pigs. She was beaten and tortured all night and morning. At 4:00 P.M., January 18, 1969, she was brought before judge Tyler of the criminal court of New York where she was held as a material witness. At approximately 10:00 P.M. the following day (after 25 hours of detainment) she was arraigned on the following charges. 1. Assault with the intent to commit murder and 2. attempted murder.

Joan appeared in pain, as she had many apparent injuries; swollen eye, severly bruised forehead, swollen lip, and numerous cuts and bruises.

Sister Bird is 19 years old and a student nurse at Bronx Community College. A Brother, Lt. Lumbia, went to the 34th precinct along with his lawyer, to inquire about the safety of Sister Bird. For this, he was promptly arrested. He was arraigned, along with Joan in night court with conspiracy to commit murder and both were placed under $20,000 bond.

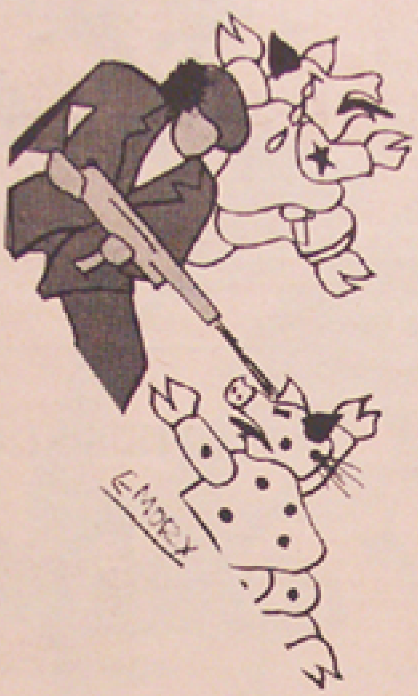
COMPLETE STORY IN NEXT ISSUE

OFF THE PIGS



FOR A REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

The Minister of Education



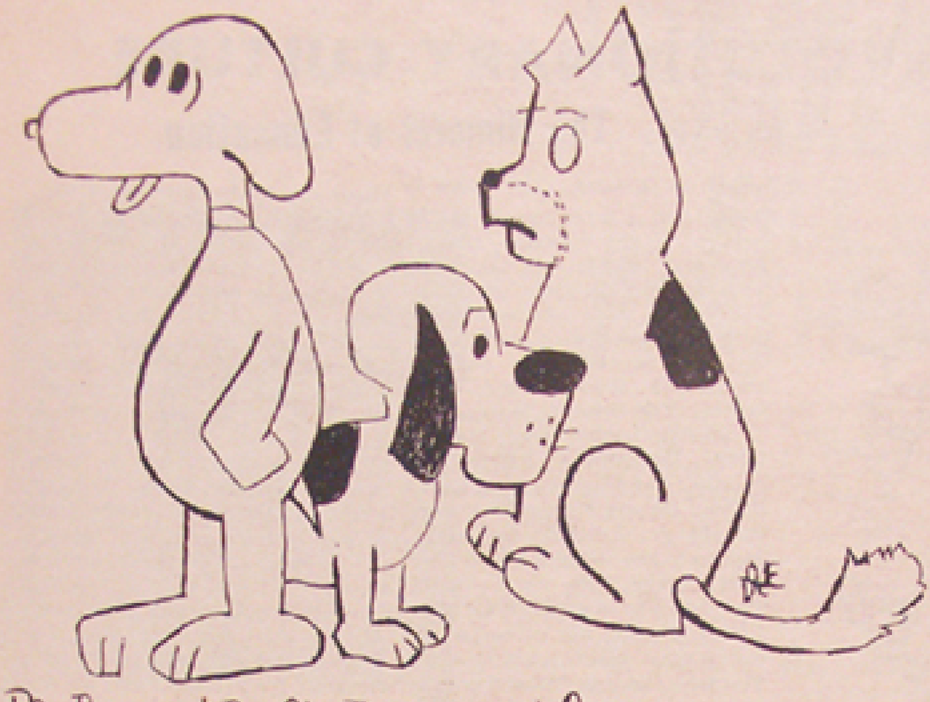
the only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture . . .

Our culture must not be something that the enemy enjoys, appreciates, or says is attractive, it must be repelling to the slave master. It must smash, shatter and crack his skull, crack his eyeballs, open and make water and gold dust run out. Because the only culture worth keeping or that will be kept by black people is a revolutionary culture. Culture may be defined as the total creation of a people. Everything black people, do, our food, songs, dances, music, art, literature, stories, poems, paintings, plays, speech, talk, kisses, embraces, squeezes, and clothes. Our black faces must be used in our revolutionary culture. All our energies, our dreams, our will, our total ways must be used to further the revolution through which we will attain our freedom, justice, and the land and the bread which we so desperately need. Whenever the settler, the master, the owner, a Kennedy, Johnson, Rockefeller or Romney talks about us, black people and our ways and attempts to praise us, that is placing our black consciousness into the milky way of racist America — their total ways, their culture is not revolutionary, it is stagnant — counter-revolutionary, repressive and murderous. The black men that Mayor Alioto praises are either Toms, fools, or black men who are being deceived, who do not have a revolutionary culture.

A revolution involves the total people; it needs all the energies of the people, requires all of our attention if it is to successfully stand. Therefore it involves the total ways of the people, hence the culture, and therefore our culture must be revolutionary, which by definition is anti-white, anti-capitalist, against imperialism, against the racist dogs. Lyndon Johnson has no use for revolution, or revolutionary culture, he has no use for change which is freedom. The proof is the Vietnam war. Revolution is change, means freedom, and the American honkey, the American government nationally, statewide and locally, does not want change, does not want desire, and has no use for revolutionary culture, change or freedom for black people. The proof is the murder of Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara, and Bobby Hutton. Martin Luther King stood for change. Kennedy, McCarthy, Johnson and Humphrey do not want change, they want reform. They have no desire for our freedom, they want our votes and our courageous black youth to die in Vietnam fighting colored people, who never call us "nigger" or made us work in plantations as Johnson's Lady Buzzard does. Black people want change. We want change-revolution, we want freedom, we want, and will have the right to determine our destiny. The Vietnamese want change, the Chinese want change, the African wants change, the Indian wants change, the Cuban demands change, the Latin American demands change, the Puerto Rican wants change, demands freedom and is picking up the gun for freedom's sake. All people of color in the world want an end to the robbery of their countries and communities by the racist, piggish, fascist dog American white man. Therefore the total Vietnamese people north and south are waging a war of liberation against racism, against corruption and exploitation. The Vietnamese have a revolutionary culture, a fighting culture, a changing culture and a cultural spirit that demands change in the form of freedom, justice and equality not between Vietnam and the U.S., but between Vietnam and the world. If we are to be free, to be ourselves, be black, decide who we will elect to an office, and how he or she will function if we want our young black men to revolve in the U.S. Because America is the black man's battleground, if we want to determine who teaches our children at school and which days of the year will be sacred to us, that is the holy days which in the Honkey's country is called holiday. If we want this kind of freedom, if we demand these kind of changes which are parcels in a real revolution, then we must have a revolutionary culture, our songs must be about change, when we do the razor stroke, it must be across a pig's throat, so our dances must be about change. The Impressions say, "We're a Winner," just do what your black leaders tell you to, 'cause we're movin' on up. Our paintings must show piles of dead businessmen, bankers, lawyers, senators, congressmen, burning up inside their stores, being blown up in cafes, restaurants, night clubs. Our music, rhythm and blues, jazz, spiritual music, must burst the eardrums of the whites who dare to listen to it. Eddie Harris plays a side called "Listen Here," where you hear actual screams, coming from a Black Saxophone. Those are the battle cries of mad, crazy black men, and the screams are coming from the honkey's throat as he and his wife are strangled to death, and robbed, looted, then set afire, for change. Because we are changing, we are deciding that freedom means change, changing from the slaves, the cowards, the boys, the toms, the clowns, coons, spooks of the 50's, 40's, 30's, into the wild, courageous, freedom fighting, revolutionary black nationalists of the 60's and the coming 70's are years of dynamite, black power for all of the third world, for all people of color in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the black islands of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Middle East, we Africans, Asians, Indians, and Spanish-speaking people held captive in the cities, in the cotton field, tomato fields, grape fields, we farm workers, school drop-outs, black, brown, red, and yellow workers, and unemployed, we are realizing we must have change, we must be free, we must have a revolution if we are to survive. Johnson does not want us free. Kennedy does not want us free. Rockefeller does not want us free. Alioto does not want black people to be free. McCarthy does not want us free. No American mayor, senator, police or fireman wants black people free. Rap Brown was sentenced to five years in jail and $2000 fine in racist Louisiana. Huey Newton, our Minister of Defense, is in jail for defending himself. Martin Luther King was murdered because he was working to set black people free. Our great Prince Malcolm X was assassinated because he was working, fighting to set us free. All our black heroes — Africa's Patrice Lumumba died to set black people free. More than one million colored children in Vietnam have been murdered by the bombs that American whites dropped on the Vietnamese because the Vietnamese are fighting to be free.

Our energies, and all our feelings must be used to free ourselves. The police fear brothers and sisters who wear naturals, but the natural is not a gun, it is black, beautiful, but we need change, we need freedom, we need black power and political power comes through the barrel of guns. We change, we are changing. We are changing from slaves to men fighting to be free. We are slaves today in prison, in jail, on the streets, in our houses, huts, tents, shacks, schools, on the few jobs available to us. We are slaves this evening. We must struggle, we must have change, or else there will be a tomorrow full of concentration camps, gas furnaces and the screams of our mothers and little sisters. Black men, Black people, colored prisoners of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pig everywhere.

Minister of Education
Black Panther Party
George Murray





CHE'S SUCCESSOR



DOUGLAS BRAVO
Devoted to Castro

CARACAS--Since the death of the Cuban revolutionary, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a Venzuelan has emerged as the leading Communist guerrilla in Latin America and Fidel Castro's newest revolutionary leader.

His name is Douglas Bravo, the surname literaly meaning "Brave." He operated with approximately 100 men in Venezuela's western mountain ranges, an area he has known since childhood.

Last month he was elected president of the Cuban-sponsored Latin American Guerrilla Congress at a meeting in Colombia.

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has personally and publicly designated Bravo to lead the liberation activity in Venezuela, whose oil makes it the wealthiest and whose dictatorial government is one of the strongest in Latin America.

Castro has often cited Venezuela as the priority target in his campaign of liberation of the oppressed.

Bravo is equally devoted to Castro. In a guerrilla manifesto he wrote in 1966, he described Castro as "the heart and the mind" of Latin America's future.

Bravo, 32, was an active Communist in Venezuela long before Castro's name became known to the world. He joined Venezuela's Communist Youth League in 1951, at the age of 16, before the party was outlawed by former dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez.

Six years later he helped organize Venezuela's first Communist guerrilla bands in a movement dedicated to ousting the dictator. Now that Premier Castro has liberated Cuba, the Latin American Liberation Movement has gained additional strength and vigor. Power to Bravo! Liberation to the oppressed!

BLACK COLONEL BLASTS BUSINESS



MARSHALL B. BASS - tells industry "like it is."

After more than 20 years in the Army, during which he was wounded while commanding a combat outfit in Korea, Marshall B. Bass (Lt. Col. U.S. Army ret.), now manager of personnel development for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., didn't flinch when invited to tell a meeting of the Piedmont Associated Industries how a Black views industry. Bass was both blunt and candid in his appearance before the North Carolina organization.

"Most blacks feel deep down inside that the white man is basically a bigot and a racist who is not truly interested in his progress," Bass told the annual autumn management seminar." I think you know why. His thoughts and feelings represent a culmination of year after year of what he considers injustice and unfair treatment.

"Through neglect, segregation, isolation, prejudice and apathy of and by the people of this country toward the Blacks," Bass told his all-white audience, "the problems of today were created."

Bass said the white man has earned the Blacks distrust. "The Black man doesn't believe that you want him to become a meaningful part of your society. The Black man knows that you are the power structure in the community and that if you wanted to integrate schools, you could. He knows that if you really wanted open housing, you could make it a reality.

"The Black man knows that you in industry control the purse strings of the community, and that you can say that the Black should be given equal opportunity.

"But he also knows that all too often you say that because you have enough sense to stay well within the law, and that most of you are not going to give a Black man half a chance unless you have to. He knows that many businesses today say they are equal opportunity employers only because they have to."

Bass said companies outwardly prescribe adherence to the law, knowing that somewhere down the line, someone will violate it. "The reason is obvious . . . you want things the way they are."

The only way to stop the discriminatory practices of profit oriented racist is to take the control of means of production from their hands and give it back to the collective mass of the people. The Black Panther has long advocated that "if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living."

LETTER FROM SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

Brother Frank,

While manning the picket line at San Francisco State College, I bought a copy of the Panther Paper and began scanning through it until I got to your article. I recently became interested in Economics and because of this interest I read your article in full. The first reading led to a second reading and the second led me off the line in search of pencil and paper to post these few comments.

First, I would like to congratulate you on a very well written article in a much needed area of study. The article reflects your keen understanding of capitalism. But of much more importance than congratulatory statements is -- hopefully -- a few constructive criticism.

My first criticism is that it is probably beyond the readers who most need to understand it. While the article is not overly technical --it is lacking in definitions of Economic terminology. As you know, many words have different meanings when used in an economic framework. Words like rent, interest, and capital will mean one thing to a person unfamiliar with economics and something altogether differend to a student of economics. I will go directly to the next below for an example.

To go to the article--you stated, "To avoid making an unwarranted assumption I have decided to present my philosophy." And you proceeded to present American Capitalism juxaposed to true or Laissez-faire Capitalism. I find within the body of the article these two economic institutions, one is a reality the other an abstraction. I have a personal problem here of determining--one, your philosophy and two, what is it you are advocating for Black people -- Laissez-faire Capitalism? The possibility of this misunderstanding is what I want to impress upon you.

Thank you Brother,
Greene Malone



WHERE IS MY FATHER?



With a deep hatred for the enemy a People's Army fighter practises to perfect his combat skill.

BOLIVIANS FIGHT

Peking, December 20, 1968, -- Bolivian peasants booed, stoned and drove away the pro-U.S. dictator barrientos from Belen on December 18, 1968, according to a report from La Paz.

Barrientos went to deliver a speech in Belen, a town approximately 55 miles to the northeast of La Paz, in a vain attempt to justify the agriculcure and cattle unified tax designed to exploit the peasants. He was booed and stoned by the angry peasants on his arrival. Barrientos hastily got into his car under the protection of his bodyguards and police and left Belen in dismay.

The agriculture and cattle unified tax announced recently by the pro-U.S. dictatorial regime of the Bolivia has met with strong opposition of the broad masses of peasants. The tax is a new measure of exploitation aimed at shifting the burden of the present economic crisis onto the peasants, impoverishing them and then robbing them of their land.

RED BOOK BEST SELLER

PEKING (LNS) -- More than 740 million copies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's little red book have been published and distributed in the last three years, according to an official Chinese report. During the same period, more than 96 million copies of Mao's poems and 150 million sets of the selected works of Chairman Mao have been printed.

The printing effort was said to have occupied more than 300 Chinese printing houses since the advent of the Great Proletarian Revolution three years ago.

JAPANESE STUDENTS FIGHT AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Peking, December 21 (hsinhua) -- The Japanese University students struggle against the rule of U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the decadent bourgeois educational system is gaining momentum, according to a Toho news agency report.

In Tokyo, progressive students of Jochi University have recently staged a strike and occupied the buildings of the University, including its head office. The students demanded that the University authorities repeat their unjustifiable decision on suspending from school those students who participated in the struggle against the expansion of the U.S. Military base in Tachikawa and that the students should have the freedom to engage in political activities. In collusion with the Sato government, the, reactionary University authorities called in on December 21, seven hundred armed police to suppress the students barbarously in an attempt to drive the students out of the buildings.

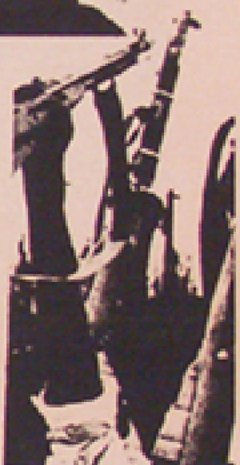
However, in defiance of violence, the students heroically defended themselves and hit back with stones and bottles. Within one hour, the fascist police unwarrantedly arrested 52 students. The ruthless police suppression of progressive students evoked tremendous indignation among the broad masses of students. On learning the news, two thousand students rushed to the University and staged a protest rally at its playground, strongly condemning the Sato government and the University authorities for their crimes. Students of Tokyo University and Meiji Gakuin University who are also on strike joined the rally and encouraged the students of Jochi University to unite closely and persist in struggle. The protest rally lasted for more than five hours in a militant spirit.

Progressive students of Osaka University recently occupied and blockaded one of the University buildings in protest against the unjustifiable punishment of students by the University authorities. The students have frustrated the sabotage by the Miyamoto Revisionist clique in the Japanese Communist Party and persevered in their strike since mid-October.

In June this year, the patriotic students of Osaka University participated in anti - U.S. Demonstrations against the use of Itami Airport by the U.S. Armed forces. The reactionary University authorities unreasonably punished three students on the pretext that "they disturbed order". The students put forth a stern demand that the punishment be waived by the University authorities. But this demand was rejected. For this reason, the students blockaded the University building and erected barricades at its entrance with desks and chairs.

The panic-stricken University authorities, collaborating with the Miyamoto Revisionist Clique, tried to deceive some students into opposing the progressive students. However, their plot fell through. At a recent meeting, the students severly denounced the University authorities and the revisionists who were driven out of the meeting like frightened rats.

1,500 students of Osaka University held a meeting on the afternoon of December 18. They dragged the University's president to the meeting, severly denounced his reactionary administration and pressed for their just demands.



FATAH

Baghdad, December 16, 1968 -- The Palestine National Liberation movement has declared that the Palestinian people have understood from their own experience that in their struggle for the Liberation of Palestine, final victory will surely belong to them so long as they rely on themselves and on the rifles in their hands and persevere in their armed struggle against U. S. imperialism and Israeli aggressors.

This statement was made in a recent interview with a correspondent of the Iraqi newspaper AL JUMHOORIYAH, which published it today.

Arafat reiterated the Palestinian people's determination to reject all plots of so-called "peaceful solution" and to carry their armed struggle through to the end.

Emphasizing the protracted nature of the Palestinian people's Liberation cause, Arafat said: "we are in need of still more steadfastness and further mobilization of our potentials for the battle."

He condemned U.S. imperialism and other imperialist states for their support of Israel in its criminal occupation of the Palestinian land and its aggression against the Arab people. "Western imperialist regard Israel as their base for plundering the riches of Israel's neighboring countries. World imperialism supports Israel; in return, Israel helps world imperialism in carrying out its conspiracies and schemes against the Arab Nation," he said.

Arafat also denounced William Scranton, "special envoy" of U.S. "president-elect" Richard Nixon, for his recent conspiratorial tour of the middle east.

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE



By Huey P. Newton
Minister Of Defense

In response to the Mulford Gun Bill, Minister of Defense Huey Newton wrote a statement which Panther Chairman Bobby Seale delivered on the steps of the Capitol in Sacramento on May 2, 1967. The statement is as follows:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black people.

At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war on genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for non-white people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalates the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.



CUBAN REVOLUTION TEN YEARS OLD

(Editor's note: On New Year's Day in 1959, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and their victorious guerrilla army strode into Havana. They day before, Fulgencio Batista, the ruthless dictator who had been the prime object of the political and mili ary movement led by Fidel, fled in an airplane to the Dominican Republic en route to Spain.

For the bearded men (barbudos) and their female companeras, the march into Havana was both an end and a beginning. It was the end of a period of armed struggle for power, a fight launched on July 26, 1953, with an attack on one of Batista's army barracks. And it was the beginning of a new age — the ongoing Cuban revolution which was to take steps toward the construction of communism, the development of socialist man and the destruction of U.S. imperialism throughout the Americas).

Fidel Castro was, in many ways, typical of Havana university students. He came from a wealthy family. He was active in left-wing student politics. He had little to do with the Communist Party. He got a law degree and thereby won the right to be called "Doctor."

In 1952, Fidel ran for congress on the ticket of a left-of-center bourgeois political party, but he didn't win. In the same year, Fulgencio Batista, who had headed an authoritarian government in Cuba on previous occasions, took power by a coup d' etat, ousting a constitutionally-elected reform-minded president.

As the Batista government assumed an overtly dictatorial form, Fidel gathered 125 friends, most of them students or recent graduates, for an armed attack on Fort Moncada barracks in Oriente province. The army easily repelled the attack, killing and wounding dozens. Fidel was jailed, but as a member of the "high bourgeoisie," he avoided the possible death sentence. At his trial, he gave his now-famous "History Will Absolve Me" speech, in which he outlined his program for political and social reform based on the social democratic Constitution of 1940.

Fidel got a prison sentence, but he was released during an amnesty in 1955 and went to Mexico via the United States. In the U.S., he made contact with Latin American men and women in exile from Batista and from a dozen other despots. Batista was well known for his repressive policies and his illegitimacy, and Fidel was able to convince the exiles — many of whom were experienced bourgeois politicians — of the need for armed struggle.

With money and pledges for more, Fidel went to Mexico, accompanied by some recruits, including Camilo Cienfuegos, a pitcher for the San Francisco Seals. Camilo, who died during the guerrilla war, is the most famous martyr of the Revolution.

In Mexico, Fidel met two very important men. One was Ernesto Che Guevara, an Argentine-born doctor who had ravelled throughou the continent and who had a keen political and strategic sense about the impending struggle. The other was General Alberto Bayo, a Spanish loyalist officer who served with the anti-fascist guerrilla movement in Morocco in the 1930s.

Under Bayo's direction, Fidel, Che and the band of men and women they got together went into training on a rented farm.

Fidel was arrested by the Mexican authorities, but he was released. They bought more guns and purchased a 62-foot-yacht called the Granma, so named by its original owner, a Texan. (Granma is the name of the daily organ of the Communist Party of Cuba.)

The trip from Mexico ran into bad weather and took six days — far too long — and many of the men suffered seasickness. When the boat landed on a peninsula in Oriente Province on Dec. 2, 1956, there were 81 men aboard. But Batista's men spotted the yacht and engaged the men and women immediately in armed combat. Only 12 survivors made it into the protective cover of the Sierra Maestra mountains.

The next two years of Cuban history — 1957 and 1958 — are frought with mystery and contradictions. The guerrilla army, under the leadership of Che Guevara, engaged in continual harassment of Batista's army, while undermining the national network of transportation and communications. Every effort was made to win the support of the people in the countryside, to promote defections from Batista's army, to carry on political education. The guerrilla army grew. Batista's army was largely impotent to deal with the struggle in the countryside — it was not trained in counter-insurgency and there were no U.S. advisers. And the people supported the guerrillas, who meticulously tried to apply revolutionary principles in the field.

One of Che's biggest victories was not against Batista forces, but was a pact made with another guerrilla band, the Escambray Front, largely under the direction of William Morgan, a North American ex-Marine and soldier of fortune. The Escambray units joined under the single banner of Fidel's 26th of July Movement in 1958.

Meanwhile, Fidel was carrying on a very delicate task of building a political movement that was broad-based. Probably, he could not have built such a movement had his program been clearly developed and labelled as the revolutionary communist program it is today. Fidel got support in the cities from men and women of all ages, in all classes, for it was in the city that Batista's crimes were most visible. It was there that the torture and death (20,000 murdered), the corruption, the gangsterism and the decadence were most visible.

Even U.S. corporations gave money to Fidel, while liberals in the State Department and the CIA agreed that Batista had to go. Fidel was an unknown character, and since he appeared pretty much like any bourgeois reformer to the spies who checked him out, Washington was unconcerned.

For that matter, Fidel's political revolution the elimination of Batista and the institution of bourgeois democracy — did not threaten U.S. interests.

Cuba's Communist Party, known as the People's Socialist Party, originally saw Fidel as an adventurer, and their support for him even after armed struggle in the Sierra began was minimal. In mid-1958, a high-ranking Communist Party official, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, met with Fidel in the hills and from that moment on, despite some internal disputes, the Communists gave full support to the 26th of July Movement, eventually submerging the party in the Movement. Carlos Rafael today commands great respect and responsibility in the revolutionary government, though other old-line Communists, notably Anibal Escalante, are doing common labor as political prisoners.

Of course, Fidel Castro and his comrades were fighting for far more than a political revolution. The struggle of the bearded ones and the women who fought alongside them was a struggle for sweeping social change. After the triumphant march into Havana in 1959, the contradictory alliances that Fidel built began to fall apart. By allowing free emigration, and concentrating on the youth, the Cubans sought national consolidation.

Social revolution meant Cuba could no longer depend on U.S. trade and capital. The island nation looked to the socialist world, and it receieed an embrace which the Cubans have never allowed to become a suffocating bear hug. The liberals in Washington and Havana fell away in anger, horror and vindictiveness.

In Cuba, with the political and social revolution finally consolidated, and the contradictions largely eliminated, the job of building a new age could begin.



JOHN JEROME HUGGINS
DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA



ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER
DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENSE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

BUNCHY CARTER JOHN HUGGINS MEMORIAL FUND

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
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A Showdown in Angola

Angolo, Zambia

The armed struggle in Angolo has reached an irreversible point. The guerrillas now claim control over two-thirds of the country. They "rule" the entire rural population of areas under their control, including Moxico and Cuando Cubango — which I covered in six weeks.

The Portuguese have no support from the villagers and have stopped foot patrols in the guerrilla-held areas, which they wisely regard as "danger zones."

Even the use of motor vehicles is becoming a thing of the past since the Portuguese ambushes. When they do travel, their convoys are at least 50 vehicles strong and covered by armed helicopters.

MPLA

The Portuguese admit that since 1966 they have been confronted with more powerful and well-trained guerrilla forces.

Since the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) started the active armed struggle in 1966, four regions have been established in Angola.

The first region covers the provinces of Luanda, Zaire Uige and Cuando Norte; the second the Cabinda enclave and the third region Moxico, ..le and Cuando Cubango ..rovinces. The fourth region ..unda and Malange provinces.

These are the nine of 15 Angolan provinces where fighting is going on.

PLANS

Whatever future plans the Portuguese might have for Angola, the truth is that the guerrillas are sure to win regardless of how long the Portuguese hold on.

They would not have held on for so long had it not been for the support they obtained from NATO countries.

The MPLA guerrillas have a fighting morale which no amount of expert propaganda or modern arms could wreck.

By mobilizing the masses, the people have pledged to fight until they are victorious.

CONTRAST

Portugal cannot expect to win because she has no knowledge of the place from where the fighting is being conducted.

In contrast the guerrillas know the countryside, entry and escape routes, the possibilities of quick maneuvers, hiding places and have the total support of the people.

However, guerrilla fighting does not afford in itself the opportunity for complete victory.

One of the first steps of warfare is the growth and development of the guerrilla force until it acquires the characteristics of a regular army and starts infiltrating into urban areas.

ARMY

Only then will the guerrillas be ready to deal final powerful blows to the enemy and achieve victory.

Triumph by the revolutionary people of Angola would surely be the product of a regular army even though its origins would be in the guerrilla army.

The Angolan guerrillas are now establishing a regular army.

Since June the Portugues started to use helicopters to patrol the forests of Angola.

Thirty-five helicopters have been sent to the Portuguese by South Africa.

Every day these helicopters enter Angloa's Cuando Cubango Province from Southwest Africa.

Some of the soldiers fighting against the guerrillas are South African.

However, both bombers and helicopters have proved ineffective in dealing with the guerrillas.

Usually the Portuguese bomb at random, concentrating on burning the bush in the hope of "uncovering" the guerrillas.

FAILURE

But this tactic has failed and with the coming of the rains they will be foreced to apply other tactics.

The Portuguese cannot expect to win through bombings. They have to meet the guerrilla on the ground.

The fact that the Portuguese have been forced to abandon foot patrols and rarely use motor transport is a clear indication that their morale is suffering.

It also shows that they are slowly losing the war and admitting their losses through their actions.

JEEP

As we drove on the deserted sandy road past the "check point" into guerrilla-controlled areas of Moxico Province, heavily armed guerrillas came running from different directions of the surrounding thick forest and clustered around the Jeep.

All the new arrivals, including the guerrilla leader and Pres dent of MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, and some of his top officials, who were going to open the first conference inside Angola since the active armed struggle started in 1966, respected the instructions of the guerrillas.

On the way to Hanoi one conference camp after abandoning the Jeep, we passed many wrecked shops and villages razed to the ground by Portuguese soldiers.

Despite their having had their homes burned, the villagers have happily settled in "President camps" under the supervision of the guerrillas.

CAMPS

At these villagers' camps we were greeted by spear-welding men and hoe-waving women expressing their confidence in victory.

With support from the rural population and unity MPLA has been so successful in its political campaigns that guerrillas have for a long time now been trained inside Angola itself.

Becoming a guerrilla has now become the number 1 ambition among the youth. Even the youngest children are growing up with a revolutionary spirit.

So many volunteers have been turning up to join the guerrillas that since late last year, they have been finding difficulties in arming them all.

CADRES

"The political-military training of cadres is a sure guarantee for the development of the armed struggle on firm foundations," said Commander Lusandi Kwenu, at Hanoi 2 base camp when I asked him why most of the guerrillas were teenagers.

The deeper we went into Angola the denser the population became and the more organized the people were. Both at guerrilla and President camps, people have established co-operative gardens, cassava, rice, tomatoes, onions and other vegtables are grown.



ANGOLAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS



Angola on the west coast of Africa



WHAT IS ULTRA-DEMOCRACY?

By FIELD MARSHAL D.C.

Ultra-Democracy is individualism manifesting itself as an aversion to discipline.

Our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, pointed out in his essay on Anarchist and Individualist that "this is a class society; it always has been". The majority of the people that become Panthers are from the lowest class. One of the major characteristics of this class is to think and act as an individual. This tendency was and is perpetrated by the ruling class (capitalist) in its rhetoric and in its governmental documents such as the declaration of independence, constitution, bill of rights, etc. Having people thinking and acting individually is an aid to the ruling class in its exploitation and oppression of people around the world in general, and the exploitation and oppression and the perpetration of racism against Black people in particular. All laws and institutions of the society are structured to create individual thinking and action. This prevents oppressed and exploited people from seeing their problem as a collective one, such as the exploitation and racism perpetuated against all Blacks, therefore, an aversion to collective thinking and action which is required if oppressed and exploited people are to wage a successful struggle to gain their freedom and liberation.

All things having a dual nature let us examine what can be called the positive aspects of individualism on the part of the masses of Black people in this present society.

Due to the exploitation, oppression and racism of this society, the masses of Black people are mainly unemployed or underemployed, Therefore, means of survival other than employment were developed by Black people. Prime Minister Stokley Carmichael says, "you get things three ways, you work, you beg or you take." Although Black people employ all three methods to fulfill their desires and needs, the latter receives priority.

Many Black people become very revolutionary in the process in their action if not in their thought. They develop ways of surviving on this society not in this society. This is done individually or in very small groups never collectively. These are the people who most readily see the Black Panther Party as a means to change their lot in particular and the lot of Black people in general.

When these people come into the party they bring these individualist tendencies with them. Within the party these tendencies prevent party policies from being carried out well or not at all. On the one hand as an individual trying to survive in the present society following only the rules and laws that serve you individually and rejecting those that do not is revolutionary by nature. On the other hand, coming into the party and continuing to obey only orders and directions of the party that please or satisfy you individually is counter-revolutionary and is called Ultra-democracy.

A few examples are "the Panther Party should apply democratic centralism from the bottom to the top, or should let the lower levels discuss all problems first, and then let the higher levels decide." On an individual level, a panther was told by an officer to clean one of the Panther cars, and he responded by saying, "I don't drive the car; therefore I won't clean the car." This is ultra-democracy. If it is not eradicated it will damage or completely wreck the party organization.

Some methods of correction are as follows: (a) Education of the rank and file to destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. (b) To insure democracy under centralized guidance (1) the leadership must give correct guidance and solve problems when they arise in order to establish themselves as centers of leadership. (2) the leadership must know the life of the masses and be familiar with the situation in the rank and file in order to have an objective basis for correct guidance. (3) at no level in the party should decisions be made casually in solving problems. (4) all major decisions and policies made by the leadership of the party must be immediately communicated to the rank and file. (5) the rank and file must discuss decisions and policies of the leadership of the party in order to understand them and decide on the methods of carrying them out.





SEVEN UP

By M. T. Tung

"Each individual defendant can't expect to get a jury of his peers," said Superior Court Judge George Phillips Jr. on the opening day of the Oakland Seven trial, "it's just not practical in this case."

Phillips must have thoroughly studied the works of Monroe Friedman, Huey Newton's judge. Phillips fully intends to railroad these seven young leaders of the white anti-draft movement just as the courts railroaded Huey.

The Seven organized the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations of October, 1967. They are charged with the same jive law that the Sacramento pigs originally filed against Bobby Seale for going armed to the State Assembly: "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor" -- which is a felony!

Those charges were later dropped against brother Bobby and the Black Panther Party demands that the charges against the Seven be dropped too.

Pig harassment of the Oakland Seven and their supporters began as soon as the trial opened. Two hundred demonstrators showed up at the Alameda County Court House. Ignoring even his own jive Constitution, Judge Phillips refused to give the Seven a public trial. He allowed about 20 spectators into the courtroom. The rest were shoved bodily down the elevators and into the main lobby. Suddenly a line of Alameda County Sheriffs appeared.

Without warning, the pigs began throwing the brothers outside, One brother looked cross-eyed at a pig and he was busted for "disturbing the peace" and "refusing to disperse." The pigs recognized Yippie leader Stew Albert and whipped his head. He now has seven stiches where scalp used to be.

But the pigishness outside the courtroom was more than equalled inside. Judge Phillips and Lowell Jensen, the same D.A. who persecuted Huey, were conspiring to deny the Oakland Seven of their rights. The judge turned down all of Charles Garry's motions to continue the case. Garry showed how D.A. J. Francis Coakley had "poisoned the atmosphere" of Alameda County with his piggish statements.

In the Oakland Tribune, Hog Coakley up and admitted that he had singled out the Seven because they are leaders -- not because of any crimes they may have committed.

"Technically a hundred or even a thousand of the demonstrators could have been indicted for their actions, but we simply didn't have enough courts SO WE HAVE TO TAKE THE MOST MILITANT LEADERS," oinked Coakley.

Naturally when the jury picking got started, Jensen continued with his swinish ways. He dismissed practically every black juror who got to the jury box. When Jensen asked one beautiful black sister if she resented people with long hair, she snapped back "Jesus Christ had long hair, didn't he?" Hog Jensen immediately dismissed her.

And on it went. Jensen dismissed not only black brothers and sisters, but ALL young people, and even residents of Berkeley! Just like Huey, the Oakland Seven are confident of an acquital if they get a true jury of their peers. That means brothers off the block, students, hippies and young working people. How can some white, middle-class, 75 year-old coupon-clipper understand the Seven's opposition to the Imperialist Vietnam War and the draft? Naturally, the judge and the D.A. are conspiring to get the Seven the oldest, whitest jury they can find.

The Alameda County Pig Department will continue to station pigs with special riot clubs at the entrances to the court. The bailiffs will continue their petty harassment of the defendants and their friends. The Judge and the D.A. won't stop their racist policies. But for the next two months, Charles Garry will fight Lowell Jensen to try and free the Oakland Seven. The court goes Monday-Thursday, 9:45 A.M. - 4:00 P.M. at the Alameda County Court.

The Black Panther Party fully supports the struggle of the Oakland Seven against this racist and imperialist system. Join the brothers at the trial, they need your support.

DORATHY ALLEN

A number of inquiries have come to me, both from individuals and groups, and the media, concerning the case of Miss Dorathy Allen. As her attorney I would like to issue this statement in order to clarify events:

"Dorathy was arrested at the Oakland Technical High School campus on September 26, for allegedly slapping a white girl who allegedly called her a "nigger." She was held overnight because the school failed to notify her guardian; she was released the following morning. She was also suspended from school. Although a statute requires that suspensions last no longer than two weeks, she was suspended until December 17, 1968, when she was expelled. The school maintains that they were awaiting the results of Juvenile proceeding before making a final decision about Dorathy. At the Juvenile proceeding, on November 13, I represented Dorathy. Judge Perchio made a finding of "battery" but indicated that he hoped that Dorathy would be returned to school. He indicated that he felt probation would facilitate this result and put her on six month supervisory probation. Although the School Board has never held a fact-finding hearing in this matter they have once allowed Mrs. Fae Williams, Dorathy's guardian, to appear on her behalf; and once allowed me as Dorathy's attorney to appear as well. Although Dorathy was expelled on December 17, the first notice of expulsion to Dorathy or her guardian was made on January 14, in response the suit I am now taking against the School Board, filed on January 10th. At that point I had already obtained a court order that the School Board and Superintendent of Schools re-admit Dorathy or show cause in the Superior Court, on January 28th, at 2:00 p.m., as to why they would not. This suit was based on the illegality of the prolonged and multiple suspension; the harshness of the penalty; and the lack of hearing or formal due process of law accorded to Dorathy. Since that time the Board of Education, in the person of Dr. Mohahn, had been trying diligently to undermine the relevancy of the law suit against them by attempting to get Dorathy into either Berkeley or Emeryville schools. Mrs. Williams, Dorathy's guardian, has been, in addition to her request that I represent Dorathy, searching for a new home in a community where Dorathy might attend school. Dorathy has no prior disciplinary record in the Oakland Schools."

Alan Kalmanoff
Attorney at Law

BLACK RANGERS

USA Ranger (CVA-61)
15 January 1969
(Sea) Tonkier Gulf

To my Black Brothers and Sisters

We Brothers who have made the foolish move of being involved in the pigs service, instead of our own, would like all of our "Black People" to know that we too are fighting for the Brothers who may be unfortunate and make the same foolish move.

We're Black and proud to be; for we feel black, look black, and will die with great pride in our blackness, knowing that the "Black Brothers" who make the same foolish move we did don't have to fight for the same goal we did, but for greater and higher goals for those that may make the same mistake.

We would like to have this letter published in the next issue, so that all Black People may read and understand how we Black Brothers of the USS Ranger feel,

With Black Sincerity
Howard Davis, Jr.
&
The Black Brothers
on the Ranger



BLACK PANTHER CAUCUSES

EXPOSÉ . . . 1969

We, the Black Panther Caucuses of the Union Movement -- the Vanguard of Labor -- will expose the true nature of G.M., Ford, Chrysler; we will pull the sheets from the second largest pig power structure in this or any other racist nation. (The first in line for this AWARD FOR RACISM is the U.S. government). At the General Motors Corp., a G.M. supervisor said, quote, If you have the right attitude a H.S. diploma, you can be a foreman, unquote. TRANSLATION: (1) You must possess a racist attitude. (2) Be semi-illiterate. (3) Be a latent homosexual -- the foreman is always trying to fuck the workers. The meaning of RIGHT ATTITUDE for the so-called Negro foreman is variable. Two and Three are self-explanatory and number 1 clearly states that you are niggers first; bosses last. Now, students, if you all understand what I mean by the RIGHT ATTITUDE, I now pronounce you G.M. foremen!

(The following excerpts are taken from a statement entitled, ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION, issued by the UAW and Teamsters).

"The Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) will devote its efforts and contribute its resources affirmatively and constructively to the the millions of unorganized, strengthening collective bargaining and DEALING WITH CRITICAL POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"The labor movement is at a crossroad. It must subject itself to honest self-searching and self-evaluation. It must free itself from complacency and self-congratulation. It must acquire a sense of renewal and rededication to social progress. It must free itself of old attitudes and habits and demonstrate the willingness, the capability and the commitment to make fundamental changes in its policies that respond to the realities of a swiftly changing world.

"In this time of crisis, dynamic and responsible labor organizations must contribute leadership and provide teamwork toward the continual advance and protection of the welfare of working people and must work together in the community in the common effort to find answers to the urgent problems of the whole of our society.

"The plight of the farm workers is intolerable. Denied the protection of law and exploited by the huge corporate farm owners, these workers need active and total support and assistance to build a union organization if they are to achieve elementary dignity and justice.

"Our cities are in crisis. Poverty casts its shadow over the total society. Unemployment remains a threat to the general welfare. Urban blight and decay eat at the core of our cities. Millions of families live in slums with decent housing beyond their economic reach.

"The cancer of racism is still uncured. Neither civil war nor a police state is an acceptable alternative. There is another way: . . . a massive assault by all men of good will and of all races and creeds against bigotry and against social and enconomic injustice.

"We need to remove the economic barriers and all forms of discrimination that deny a child or youngster opportunity for maximum growth and development.

"We need to reorganize the economics of hospital and medical care to check the skyrocketing cost and make modern, high quality, comprehensive health care available to all the people as a matter of right.

COMMUNITY UNIONS

"Join with other groups in the community in helping to organize community unions so that the working-poor, the unemployed and the underemployed may have the opportunity of participation, of self-organization and self-determination in dealing effectively with their problems.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ACTION

"Cooperate with other concerned community groups to promote and support activities at the national and local level:

"To expand educational opportunities to facilitate the growth and development of each child and youth to his maximum capability, including free university education, unrestricted by economic, racial or other such barriers.

"To join with others in a massive effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate America's urban areas by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods and by enlisting the maximum and meaningful participation of the people of the inner city in all aspects of this urgent task so that decent, adequate housing can be made available and put within the economic reach of America's low-income families."

PURPOSE OF THE B.P.C.

We must educate the working people to the political impact that the U.A.W. and other unions have on their social and economic lives.

We must gather the masses in a revolution to throw out the bogus leaders - by democratic elections or any means necessary.

We have allowed ourselves to become part and parcel to the exploitation of non-working people by simply remaining quiet and passive. We must, after dealing with the pigs, give all the power to the people as stipulated in the International By-Laws and local by-laws of UAW and other unions. To the pigs, go the swill!!

- Kenny Horston, Director BPC
UAW, Local 1364
Fremont, Calif.

POWER OF THE PRESS

This is to the downtrodden people of the world and the racist pig power structure.

Every week The Black Panther Party produces a paper, that spreads from California to Africa and its primary function is to serve as an organizing tool for Black people and all other oppressed people throughout the world.

Our paper is so important that it is an absolute necessity that the information we circulate within our paper, reach the Brothers in the street, those that are discontented with the racist, imperialistic government. This also pertains to hippies and the yippies that are opposed to the decadence of this society and of most importance, to lift the people to an awareness.

The pigs don't want you to read anything that the Black Panther Party produces. This especially relates to our papers world-wide circulation. This phenomena has occurred because we write about the evils of this society, how the pigs mess over our people, how they trick us into believing that Black Capitalism is the answer, etc. The author of Black Capitalism is none other than tricky-dick Nixon, the 37th punk of the United States. The power structure doesn't want you to read this stuff, because they are afraid that when the people finally realize what's happening, they will say, "Up against the wall, you thief, scoundrel, rapist, murderer, we come for what's ours!" That is what they don't want you to do. How in essence, Black Capitalism means Black pigism. They don't even want you to read the truth of the political assassination that occurred two weeks ago on UCLA's campus. The incident involved two true revolutionaries, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins.

Last week we shipped papers to our chapter in New York, on a Friday morning via United Air Lines, which takes at the most, eight hours. The pigs held our papers until this past Monday. That's only one example of the hell we receive, from the pig power structure.

A newspaper can be used for many purposes. We use it primarily for two reasons; to give political consciousness to the masses and as an organizing tool. We believe that you, the people, will gather together and organize. We must begin to understand that once the people see the validity in our program, it will be easier to organize. First we must begin to relate to concrete ideas that are very basic and practical for us. The ten point platform and program outlines the most practical necessities for us.

The pigs don't like for us to write about their prize bootlickers, namely Thurgood Marshall, Sen. Brooks and Ron Karenga, which is only to name a few. It is impossible to be part of the solution and to collaborate with part of the problem. The racist doesn't want you to know about these individuals who sip tea in the afternoon with the pigs, while making deals with your life, as you are off to Miss Ann's kitchen. You see, we're going to expose all the Tom's for what they are and let you, the people, deal with them. Pigs are trying to scare us and buy us out, as though to say, he can equate us with the Ball Headed Wonder (Ron Karenga), Leroi Jones and not to mention all the Pork-Chop renegades.

The pigs are so slick that they use traitors in an attempt to destroy our circulation. They do this by having brothers with white faces wearing black masks to take, to physically take, our papers from some of our Panther sisters while selling the papers in the Black community.

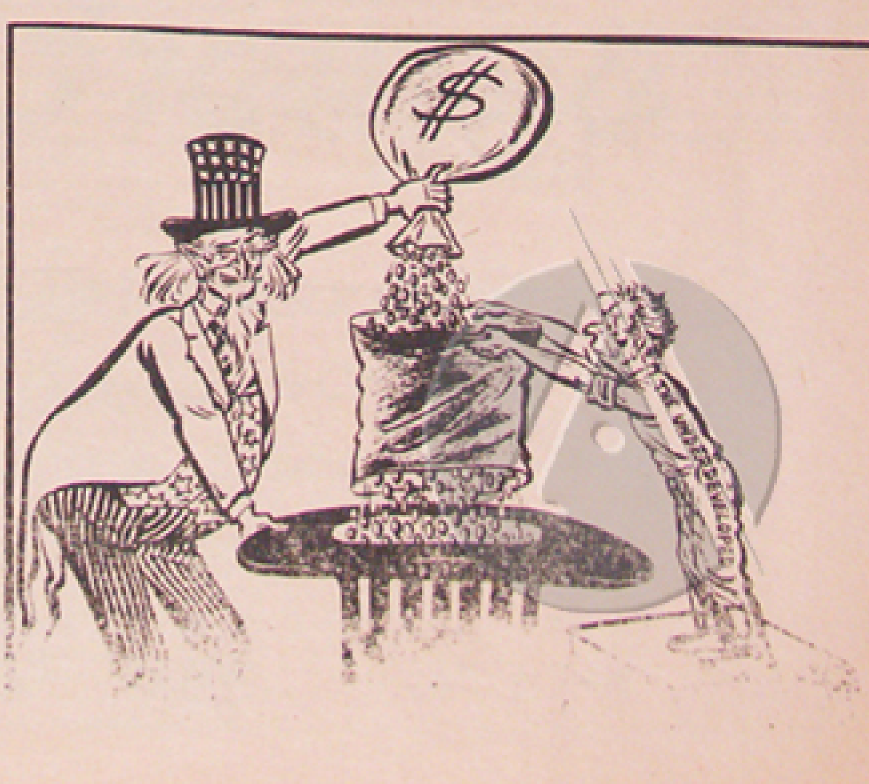
These are some of the things Black people need to know. The white man won't print the truth. Everything that the racist writes, is good for him, yet bad for us. He talks about the war in Vietnam, which is bad for us. He talks about money, which we don't receive. He gets all the benefits, which is good for him.

Those were only two examples of his everyday pigish ways, but I am sure that you would only need a second to think of the millions of atrocities that he has forced upon us.

The Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and our Chairman Bobby Seale realized the importance and significance of our paper so much that they use to ride buses to sell our papers in the Black community.

At this point, our paper has grown so large that it has put fear into the racist, avarcious pig power structure. And in conclusion The Black Panther Party and the Black community with their consciousness being raised to that of a revolutionary principle will continue to stop all intimidation by racist power structure.

All Power to the People
Distribution Manager
Virtual Murrell



JUDGE WILSON'S DECISION

Chairman Bobby Seale has been exonerated of all charges stemming from the illegal search of his house. The "pigs ran amuck" and arrested Chairman Bobby on some trumped up gun charges. The following is the legal affadavit that accompanied Chairman Bobby's release from the phony charges:

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF ALAMEDA BEFORE HONORABLE LIONEL J. WILSON, JUDGE DEPARTMENT NUMBER 8

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, Plaintiff, vs. BOBBY SEALE and ARTIE F. SEALE, Defendants

No. 42160
MEMORANDUM IN RE MOTION TO SUPPRESS EVIDENCE

This matter came on for hearing before this Court on January 3, 1969 upon defendants' Motion to Suppress the admission of the possession by defendants of a .45 caliber automatic pistol with an allegedly altered serial number, a sawed-off shotgun, and a hunting knife, under the provisions of Section 1538.5 of the Penal Code.

It was stipulated by and between the People, through Lowell Jensen, Assistant District Attorney of Alameda County, and the defendants through their counsel, Charles R. Garry, that the arrest of the two defendants was not by way of an arrest warrant as to the incident that is involved in the proceedings, nor was there a search warrant in existence for the seizure of the items of evidence which are the subject of this particular motion.

Penal Code Section 1538.5 provides for a hearing De Novo when a motion is made in Superior Court under the provisions of said Code Section, and places the burden on the prosecution to show that the search and seizure was reasonable and lawful.

A careful and comprehensive study and review of the evidence as presented herein leads this Court to the following conclusions:

A. Officer Coyne's testimony was at times inconsistent with other credible evidence, at times evasive and on occasion demonstrated a "convenient memory" which was usually sharp when helpful to his case and not so sharp otherwise. For instance, his testimony that when he received the initial radio transmission to go to 1927 Stuart Street, he was told that the citizen informant had stated that he had heard the three Negroes say, "There has to be killing; there has to be killing," and "Let's go in and talk to him about it," is not born out by the evidence as contained in the taped transcript of the informant's conversation with the dispatcher wherein the citizen stated that he could not make out what it was about and heard something about "Well, we're the only people (garbled) . . . ."

B. The inconsistencies in Officer Coyne's testimony and his apparent emotional involvement were such that it is difficult to segregate the "truth" from the "fiction and fancy."

C. When Officer Coyne learned a few minutes after being in the vicinity of 1927 Stuart Street that Bobby Seale lived there, what had been a routine police assignment now became a situation wherein there might be an opportunity to make an arrest that had special meaning for him, and his actions thereafter were colored by this thought. (See RT 63 wherein Coyne said "It probably did" . . occur to him that it would be a feather in his cap to arrest Bobby Seale.)

D. The arrest of the four occupants of the yellow car who presumably had just left Bobby Seale's apartment, and seizure of weapons from them contributed little or nothing to form a basis for a probable conspiracy to riot or murder, as it was already known that some of the persons seen going into Seale's house were armed with pistols, and there were no illegal weapons as such found upon them, and it was common knowledge that the Black Panthers were prone to carry guns, and Officer Coyne had so testified as to Bobby Seale (RT 30-34).

E. When the officers returned to the home of Bobby Seale, the house was dark and quiet and there was no evidence of any criminal conduct or even the prospect of such.

F. There was nothing of a furtive nature about the conduct of Bobby or Artie Seale when the officers came to their home to make the arrest.

G. There is insufficient evidence to sustain or support a finding that the officers had probable cause for the arrest of Bobby and Artie Seale for conspiracy to commit riot or murder.

In light of the foregoing, this Court finds that there was not probable cause to make the arrest of Bobby and/or Artie Seale, and the search of the Seale apartment and seizure of the two guns and hunting knife were unlawful.

There, the Motion to Suppress the aforesaid evidence is granted.

DATED: January 20, 1969.

LIONEL J. WILSON
JUDGE OF
THE SUPERIOR COURT

WANTED DEAD FOR MURDER



S.F. PIG MICHAEL O'BRIEN

4785 - 18th. STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

REVOLUTION



Revolution is the only solution
To this crazy mixed up evolution
The cops are killing and the man
Is stealing from us
It is time for us to smash him to dust
His kids are learning in private schools
And not being hurt by the strikes
While our kids are smoking reefers
And fucking around - high as a kite
That's why Revolution is the only solution
He uses
He uses us as physical tools
As he has in the past, but never
Could it happen again if we start
Controlling our own schools and stop
Listening to THIS and THAT
Get hip! Get wise'
Get hip! Get wise!
Come to this conclusion
Be part of the Revolution
It's here! It's there!
The revolution is everywhere
Revolution is the only solution

Jose R. Gonzalvez, Jr.

OFF THE PIGS

More Panther Harassment

On the night of Jan. 21, 1969 Deputy Minister of Defense Delano Farrar and Panther Michael Akins were vamped on by two Boston pigs.

Michael and Delano were in Guido's Pizza shop when two pigs entered and told the two brothers that they were under arrest for snatching a lady's pocketbook. The lady Delano found out after being taken outside was Black.

Delano and Michael were taken to Pig Station #4 and were booked on purse snatching. One-half hour later the pigs came back with a bag of reefer and told Delano that he was also charged with possession of marijuana. A few minutes later the pigs returned again and told Delano that he was now charged with receiving stolen goods -- a wallet which Delano had never seen and did not have in his possession when he was arrested.

The Black Panther Party clearly recognizes that the racist pigs are now moving to wipe out the leadership of the Boston Chapter just as they have been moving nationally against the party.

The trumped up charges of purse-snatching, possession of marijuana, and receiving stolen goods are even more ridiculous than the charges against brother Huey and brother Eldridge. Knowing, as it has been nationally publicized, that the Black Panther Party or any member will not commit or permit crimes against Black People.

Panther Power
Wendell C. Bourne

KLAN KILLER CLEARED

HATTIESBURG (Miss.) -- The State of Mississippi failed for the second time within a year yesterday to convict former Ku Klux Klan chieftain Samuel H. Bowers, accused of plotting the fiery murder of Black leader Vernon Dahmer.

A jury of ten whites and two Blacks reported it was hopelessly deadlocked and Circuit Judge Stanton Hall declared a mistrial.

Ten jurors favored conviction of the 44-year-old bachelor for murder and two held out for acquittal. Another jury last year deadlocked in trying Bowers for arson in the Dahmer case.

For four years Bowers was imperial wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The FBI contends it was responsible for much of the state's racial violence.

Dahmer, who led Black voter registration efforts, died of burns suffered when nightriders firebombed his Laurel home January 10, 1966. The state contended Bowers ordered the bombing.

Billy Roy Pitts, a former Klansman, testified that Bowers told the Klansmen they "had to do away with this nigger" because Dahmer was "stirring up a lot of trouble."

Pitts testified that he lost a pistol near Dahmer's house while shooting at the home during the raid.

"Don't worry about it," he said Bowers told him later. "No jury in Mississippi would convict somebody over killing a nigger." This assessment of the penalty for killing a Black man holds true anyplace "south of the Canadian border."

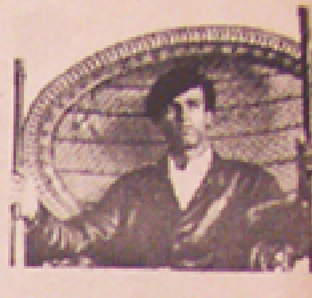
OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT

WHAT WE BELIEVE







1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

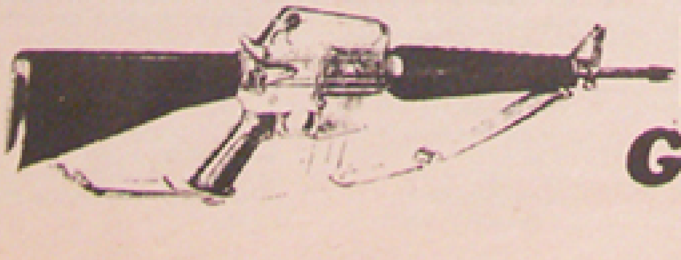
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



FREE HUEY NOW
GUNS BABY GUNS



HUEY NEWTON
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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KATHLEEN CLEAVER

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

1) Speak politely.
2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
3) Return everything you borrow.
4) Pay for anything you damage.
5) Do not hit or swear at people.
6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7) Do not take liberties with women.
8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

1) Obey orders in all your actions.
2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'bearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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HUEY NEWTON

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose ____________ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee ____________

Name ______________________ Date ________

Address ______________________

City ______________ State ________ Zip ________

Profession ______________ Organization or Title ________

ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

Breakfast for School Children

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community-mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racists oppress us - are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-6684, 893-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211 or sign up with other community peoples and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductable. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2624 WEST ST., OAKLAND

☐ Money Enclosed is $__________
☐ Time
☐ Food or Utensils-State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business include for your tax exemption __________

Name__________

Address__________ City__________

State__________ Zip__________

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC — ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probably cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls — one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time e?ds on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do no' have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of ydur county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

COMING IN FEBRUARY . . .

A NATIONWIDE BIRTHDAY WEEKEND CELEBRATION FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harasment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occured outside of the schools authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendent came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual bases. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth; divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

BLACK STUDENTS UNION
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3106 SHATTUCK ST.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA





MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Please Clip and Mail to:

HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

P. O. BOX 318
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

Name ____________________
address ______________ city ______________
I Pledge $ ____________________
Enclosed You Will Find $ ____________________

REMEMBER BROTHER MALCOM

Born, May 19, 1925



Assassinated, Feb. 21,1965

HUEY POSTER $1.00



MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

NEEDED: TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS: "THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE)

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE REVOLUTION – WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

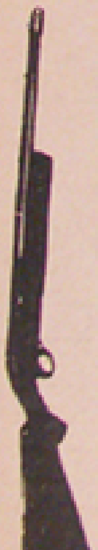
FOR DEFENSE
FOR FINANCING
FOR OFFICE WORK
FOR TRANSPORTATION
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Effective January 20th
7:30 am till 9:30 am
Monday thru Friday
at the
St. Augustine's Episcopal Church
2624 West St. Oakland
for information
call Father Neil at 534-6684
or
893-1016
Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211
or inquire at
Black Panther Party
National Headquarters
3106 Shattuck St.,
Berkeley, Calif.



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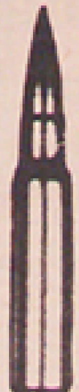
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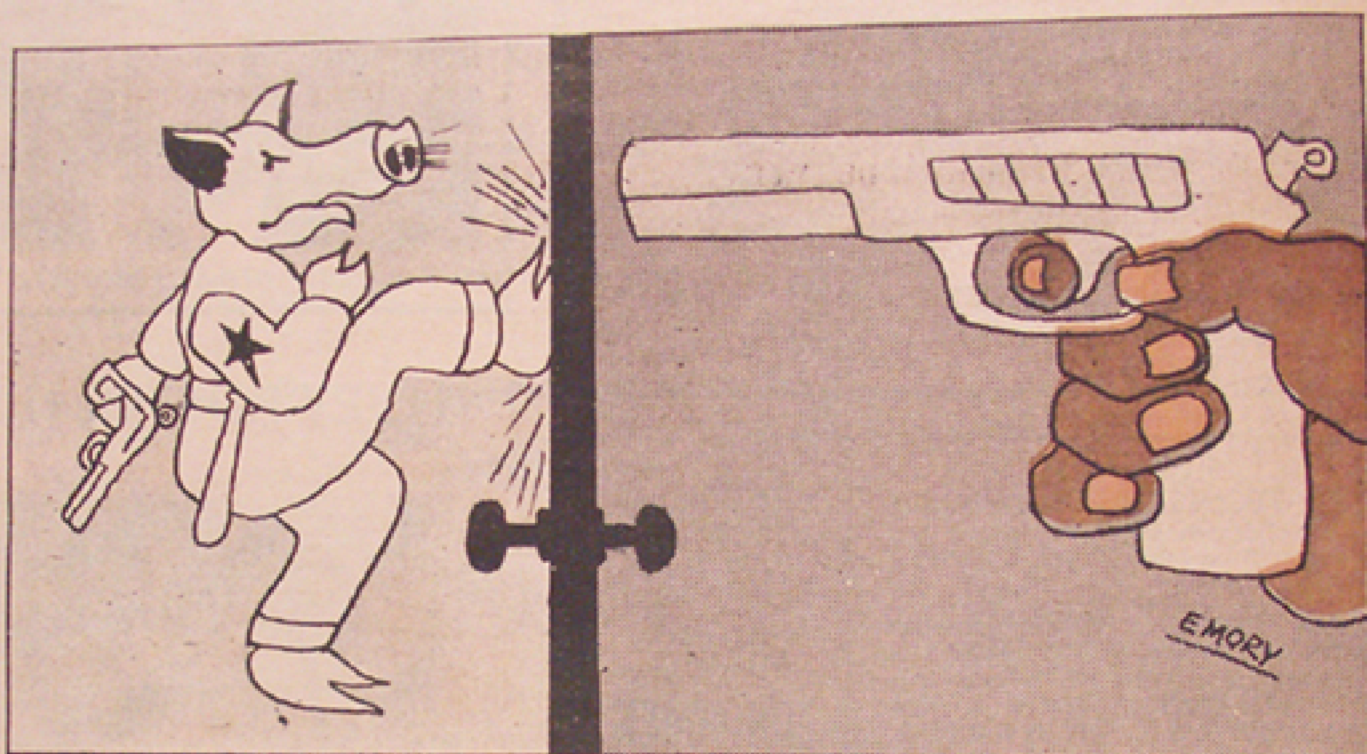


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Knock, Knock
Who's There
"The Pig"
You Got A Warrant?
Don't Need One, I'm
Coming In
Bang! Bang!
Oink! Oink!
Off The Pig

Bobby Herron